1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

putting Suw down and gently urging him to retrieve it. He crawled a few feet toward the ball and then returned to his mother. She took him back into her lap and rocked him in her arms and patted him for a while. She then asked someone for the ball and let Suw play with it. Then she rolled it away again and told him to go get it. This time he retrieved the ball and was again rewarded. During weaning, as we shall see, the strength of this desire to touch and be near the mother is even more clearly demonstrated.

An infant's reaction to the social environment is pleasant but limited. Except for smearing he is rarely punished.* Since, moreover, almost all his needs are satisfied by the help of his mother, he inevitably develops a strong attachment to her. By comparison, other persons are relatively unimportant in his life. His father sometimes picks him up and holds him for a few minutes to display him to a visitor, but he soon returns the child to his mother, especially if he starts to cry. A mother never entrusts her young infant to an older brother or sister to hold, even for a short while, unless she is near to supervise. Next to the mother herself, her co-wife cares for a child more frequently than any other person. It is she who usually holds the infant when the mother needs a short respite from the constant care. The only other persons who are allowed to touch the child are its grandparents, its father's *brothers* and *sisters*, its *mother's brothers*, and the spouses of these persons; but to be held by them is a rare occurrence. The mother stands out as by far the most important figure in the infant's life—a person essential to his very existence.

Sickness is the chief source of anxiety for a Kwoma infant. The mother, successful in bringing about the reduction of other discomforts, knows no efficient means of coping with most of the diseases which her child contracts. Indeed, one method employed to cure minor ills increases the infant's pain instead of reducing it. If he complains of a headache

* Masturbation and biting the mother's nipple may be two other exceptions to the rule of complete facilitation. All informants stated firmly that an infant is never punished.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

or stomach-ache, the mother cuts the skin on his temple or belly and allows blood to flow from the wound.[6] In this sphere, therefore, an infant experiences pain without anticipating any possibility of its reduction except by slow and natural means.

Very few aggressive responses are established during infancy. The infant is not big or strong enough to alleviate pains by removing the source. Loud crying is, however, established at this time. A parent will say, "The infant is cross."[6] Nevertheless, a mother helps her infant even if he is crying angrily. In fact, the louder he cries, the more effort she expends trying to aid him, so that aggression is rewarded rather than punished. Infants also gain some success in the technique of killing mosquitoes, an act classed as aggression in Kwoma culture.[7]

As regards prestige, the Kwoma infant enjoys in a sense the most dominant social position that he will ever attain. His every command is obeyed, and all his wants are attended to. For the remainder of his life he can only expect to have his commands obeyed after he has, by the expenditure of considerable effort, gained a position of high prestige.

[753]

[6] Such pains are supposed to be caused by an accumulation of bad blood. This theory will be described below. See chap. iv, p. 64.

[6] *Wejowa*, "to be cross"; or *owambato*, "to speak angrily."

[7] The Kwoma term for killing a mosquito is *yogiwa fiju*, "to fight a mosquito." *Fiju*, "to fight," is the general term for aggression.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

Kwoma culture defines this as immoral only on the part of the boy.

Although a Kwoma becomes considerably more independent on entering the status of childhood, he still relies upon his parents in cases of serious injuries or sickness. If he has a bad boil, a parent or older sibling will lance it for him with a bamboo knife. They treat his sores by irrigating them with warm water in which certain herbs have been cooked. The cooked herbs are used as a sponge and the medicated water is squeezed over the sore. They pick away the proud flesh so that the wound does not heal over too quickly, and force the child to sit quietly in the sun so that its rays strike the sore. When a child suffers from an ache in the stomach or head or from a sprained and swollen joint, one of his parents will practice phlebotomy upon him as they did during the weaning period. Parents react to serious sickness in their children by specialized anti-sorcery behavior to be described later. A child coöperates in these activities, but the responsibility rests with the parents.

A child's environmental horizon widens upon his entry into childhood. When he ranges into the forest with his playmates and accompanies his parents to swamp and garden, he comes into contact with aspects of the environment which may be injurious. He learns to cope with them more and more by himself. Sometimes he discovers that aggression, at other times avoidance, is the more appropriate response. He kills scorpions, lizards, and small snakes which threaten him, but learns to avoid the larger animals. If a large snake appears on the path, he will walk around it. He keeps away from places where he may meet wild pigs or crocodiles. He learns not to step on sago bark unless the thorns have been removed and therefore to take care in walking in the mud of the swamp. He learns which of the bushes and shrubs in the forest bear nettles and which can be walked through with impunity. He learns to predict when a storm is coming so that he may return to the house before it begins to rain.

A child's parents and older siblings continue to help him avoid these dangers by warning him. In consequence, a child

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

826 He is taught that growth depends upon the renewal of blood,
856 and that food produces blood, which promotes growth as long as it is fresh. When blood has been in the system for a time, however, it begins to grow stale and finally rotten, and then growth ceases until the bad blood is removed from the body. It is furthermore believed that the best method of removing this bad blood from the system is through the penis.[20] As might be expected, children with a strong wish to grow up and with a method which they are told will accomplish it, take this means even though it is painful. Boys frequently go into the bushes and scrape their penises with nettle leaves so that the blood may flow out. For some reason that I could not discover, perhaps because penis scraping was associated with masturbation, boys performed this act only in private and were ashamed if they were discovered. One day Gwiyap, seeing that Mey had left his net bag lying in my house, opened it and pulled out a bundle of nettles. When Mey came in, I asked him about the bundle. He became very embarrassed and said, "Oh, just something of mine." When Gwiyap began to tease him about it, he ran from the house.

It would perhaps be more appropriate to describe this complex in terms of the fear of not growing up rather than in terms of the wish to grow up. The following cases suggest that this is probably the way in which Kwoma boys think of it. Fit asked me if I had performed this rite when I was a child, and when I answered that I had not, his mouth dropped
[123] in amazement. "How did you grow up, then?" he asked. Gwiyap, who was also present, settled the matter by explaining to Fit that white men are different from Kwoma. On another occasion Ham asked me the same question and was equally amazed at my answer. Apparently Fit had told him what I had said, and Ham had asked me to make sure that Fit was not teasing him.

[757] [20] This belief concerns health as well as growth, and, as has already been shown, phlebotomy is practiced in the case of sickness, in order to "let out the bad blood."

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

885 795 turn after dark. They had almost reached home when they heard a rustling in the path by their side which they knew to be a ghost. At first they froze in their tracks and then shouted out their predicament, hoping that there would be someone in the house tamberan to come to their aid. Wof and War heard the shouting and told them to run. They did. When they reached the house tamberan safely, they and the other men present shouted angrily at the ghost to go back to the land of the dead and to stop annoying them.

885 787 789 A Kwoma adult may be possessed by ghosts under the same circumstances and for the same reasons as adolescents. The only new rôle which he must play at this time is that of exorcist. Any adult may try his or her hand at questioning the ghost through the medium of the possessed person, but those who show the most aptitude for discovering the cause of the ghost's anger gain reputations as exorcists and are usually called upon. Marok and Chinuwa were considered to be the best exorcists at Rumbima.

885 • 757 The Kwoma have certain techniques for curing minor ills, most of which have already been described. Although children can depend on others to perform these techniques, adults must learn to treat both themselves and their sick relatives. An adult must know when and how to practice phlebotomy, how to lance and care for a boil, and when to rub a person with nettle-like leaves in order to revive him. He must also learn some of the spells which are thought to be effective under various circumstances.

753 752 754 The Kwoma believe that all serious sickness is caused by sorcery. The list of maladies which are thought to result from sorcery includes not only common illnesses, such as malaria, filariasis, and tuberculosis, but also injuries which result from accident. When, for example, a boy from a neighboring hamlet fell from a tree and fractured his skull, the fall was believed to have been caused by the machinations of a sorcerer. Sorcery is even suspected to be the cause of minor ills, such as ulcers, headaches, and upset stomachs whenever they are unusually protracted or resistant to cure. All but the mildest ailments are thus believed to be caused by per-

869 206 *Becoming a Kwoma*

826 Kwoma children are warned that if they do not allow some-
• [157] one to bleed them when they have a headache, stomach-ache,
or sprain, the pain will become worse and they may even be-
come seriously ill. A boy is also warned that if he does not
[856] bleed his penis he will not grow up.[1] When the age-grade
initiation approaches, a boy is warned that if he does not
attend it and have his blood ceremonially let, he will not grow
[262] up. Since this operation is performed in a stream, he is
warned that if he eats fish he will become sick, for the fish
may have been contaminated by his blood. He is warned that
if he eats an animal which he has killed with a spear or arrow
he will sicken and perhaps die, since his blood enters the ani-
mal through his weapon and contaminates its flesh. This
warning is reiterated to adults when they begin pig hunting.
An adult who plants yams is warned not to eat them lest he
become sick, for the seed and produce have become contami-
nated with his blood.

869 One other unrealistic warning should be mentioned here,
262 because a case involving it will be discussed later. Adoles-
562 cents are warned that if they eat sago flour washed by a
252 woman it will make them sick. The normal procedure in
processing sago flour is for the woman, either sister or wife,
to crush the pith and for the man to rinse the flour from it.

121 The following case will serve to illustrate the psychologi-
869 cal effect that the above unrealistic warnings usually have
823 upon a Kwoma pupil. Kar, Mar, Gwiyap, and I were walk-
123 ing through the swamp one day, and the path passed by a
waterhole. Kar warned the rest of us not to pass too near it
for it was the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. Mar and Gwiyap
heeded and passed by the waterhole at a distance. I, how-
ever, did not heed, approached the hole, and poked my walk-
ing stick into it. The three Kwoma shouted at me for doing
this, warning me to stop and scolding me for my temerity.
The fact that Mar and Gwiyap passed by the waterhole at a
distance can be analyzed thus: the drive was fear evoked by
Kar's warning due to the pain which both Mar and Gwiyap

[1] This warning is not made directly but by implication, and the practice is performed in secret. See chap. iv, p. 64.

763 back from the bush. The drums went again this afternoon, and it was pretty
202 well authenticated to be an old woman from Wenya, whose grandchildren
[603] were being called from working in a garden over on the edge of Ambunti mountain.

• 757 January 30, 1937. Last night I heard talking for quite a while in a loud voice. At first I could hear no responses, but finally I heard a woman answering angrily. After fifteen minutes of this the woman began wailing. Then she spoke a half a dozen words very quickly and then "O - O" on a low tone, and finally repeated it. All this was kept up for five minutes when she burst into actual sobbing. Wof was talking in a loud voice all the time.

[593] This morning Owiyap said that Wof's wife had complained that she did
[752] not have enough food to eat and Wof was tired of her complaining (the day
[757] before yesterday I stopped in and Kaya had what looked like a sprained ankle which had been cut with a razor according to native medical theory.) Her temples had also been cut. She held her foot up for me and moaned how much it pained. Owiyap and Mar who were with me were very anxious for me to leave; they would not talk about it, so I was not able to find out much. The incident of last night had something to do with this, but again Owiyap was loath to talk.

123 January 29, 1937. Afalowanj came and sold me a carved wooden figure. I
439 paid him with a pair of scissors. He pretended to cut off his penis with
522 it and evoked a laugh from all those present.

114 January 30, 1937. I got a letter from Eve today saying that he had
123 arrived safely, so the rumor was false. I told Owiyap and May this and asked them if they had actually heard that the Tangwishamps wanted to kill us, and they now admitted that they hadn't, although before they swore that they had.

753 Mar said his knee pained. He thought it was because of bad blood, and
757 thought he would go and cut his penis tomorrow. He asked me if I wanted to come too, and then laughed, denying it. He said he would scrape it first with rattles and then cut it with bamboo. I asked why not a razor, and he said he didn't know, but guessed that bamboo would be better.

685 April 17, 1937. May has stolen Fit's spoon to retaliate for the theft of his knife.

342 Mas had gone to help Dew put the shingles on his house. Mar did not
476 go at first. He protested, "If he is going to make some work, why didn't
123 he ask yesterday for some help." He finally went with May, after May had
685 stolen some of my tobacco. I discovered the loss because he left a butt. I told Gwiyap I was going to spank May, and he said "Yes, broke in nose." When May came back he greeted me, saying, "sin" (hello). I did not return the greeting and he got up. He started to run away. I told him to come, and he became very frightened. I spanked him with a couple of hard whacks. He said nothing but sat on the floor. Mas and Mar were both angry with him and sympathized with my action. May later said that Mar had stolen some tobacco
752 too. War came to visit in the morning. He said he was upset about Khos and thought that he was blinded for good from the gun powder incident, but showed no sympathy. He blamed him for playing with something he didn't know
123 about and not listening to Mas' warning. He stayed around until about three o'clock and called to Khos to come down. He was asleep, so he told Gwiyap to send him, because he was afraid of Kafwa. Later his sister Aya came bringing sago and took him down with her.

I went down to Mar's with Gwiyap. Kwiya, Awa, Afi, and Yawaf were there. I told Gwiyap to get a tin, and we would get water, and I would wash. Gwiyap said he was lazy. The girls said they would get the water, and they did. After they had gone, Gwiyap was afraid they could not carry the

115 very steeply-- about the angle of an ordinary staircase, with holes cut in
123 the mud for footing. Gwiyap hit this path going full tilt and had not gone far before he slipped and took quite a nasty spill. I was not so sure footed and had slowed down to a walk. When I saw him lying down, I asked if he were all right, and started down to pick him up. When he saw me coming, he got up with a look of terror on his face, and sobbing, limped down the path. I stopped and told him that it was all right, that I was only playing and then he stopped and sat down. When I started back up the hill he went into the bushes to hide. Mar came at this point and we both went to look for him, but could not find him. When we got to the top of the hill, we waited, and yelled and about five minutes later Gwiyap appeared. He said he was fooling us when he hid in the bush and that he was all right. He showed no fear of me and laughed about the incident. He said that he knew I was fooling, but I could feel a slight undercurrent of resentment about the affair.

587 This morning Wof married Gwiyap's foster mother. He was talking about
115 it the night before, and Gwiyap must have know his intentions. When Gwiyap
787 came with my tea, almost the first thing he said was that he had a dream
123 to report. Usually I have to ask him first. The dream was this. "Last
[757] night a big tall man came after me with a spiky leaf (used by the
[304] natives as a counterirritant, particularly after they are cicatrized at initiation). I ran down the hill and he chased me. Finally I got to the water and jumped in and died. Then a man like Mar came and took me out and carried me to the funeral platform and laid me out on it. Then I got up and came down from the platform. I was not dead." I asked him who the man who had chased him was, and he said he did not know, butthat he was very big and tall and that he was a "man belong tamberanka" (one of the ghosts of dead Hongwan).

192 [826] [262] [614]

marinokw	the brain, and the soft bone on the top of an infant's head. Its function is to make the head strong. It is dangerous for an infant to eat food in another sib until this bone has hardened and the child has cut teeth. The brain is thought to have a door, but no road.
mambeyé	ears
uborowang	neck
meeuk	heart
wofu	lungs
kumbu	stomach
sungu	intestines
mangorusuku	kidneys
mogu	bladder
eré	penis
mandé	testicles
sumé suf	anus

757 [753] Curing a boil. Boiling water is poured over the sisfkofé (the leaf of a creeper), and the broth when cooled, is applied to a boil with a sponge. It is supposed to make the boil come to a head. If the boil breaks by itself, no more is done to it, and it drains. If it does not break when it is ready, it is lanced--either by the patient or by one of his family. Boils are not caused by poison.